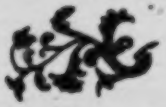
4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Del Principio de los Dioses



HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

1 7 3
5 3 9

First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

Injc ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn ozintique in tetenh.

In quenjn tzintique in tetenh in canpa tzintique, amo vel macho, ca ie iehoatl in panj ca in vncan teotioacan, quitoa in canjn yn iquin, in oc iovzian vncan mocentlalique, in ixquichtin tetetu, yoan mononotzque, in aquin tlatlquiz, in aquin tlamamaz, in aquin tonatiuh ierz, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cecencj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muncalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh quinatia vevetque.

TO VITZLOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaoa. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

YN VITZLOPOCHTLI, in oenca quimaviztiliaia in Mexica.

Yvin in quinatia, in itzintiliz, in ipecaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tollan, cemilhujtl quitztica, vmpa nenca cihuatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh inveltiuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in iehoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamacenaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Jnjc tlama-

1. *Tlatlaquiz* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *tlaquin* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio* MS. Cf. *Aquí mjpo.* in Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simpler terms, the same usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 138. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-9; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121f.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (*Huitzilopochtli*), moon (*Copolxauhqui*), and stars (*Centzonuitznaoa*)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-9. He states: "*Yo hemos visto ahora cuer de ella colloquentemente Huitzilopochtli en el nacimiento en que los astrellas, capitaneados por la Luna, pretendian matarla porque no creian en el prodigio de la concepción divina, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de un vientre armado del rayo de luz y mata a la Luna y a los astrellas.*"

-1-

773
539

did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitznaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

ceuuia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oaltemoc ihujtl, iuhquin ihujtelolotli, njman conicujtiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cōcuiuquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oquitlalica aoc tle quiztac, njman ic oztzic in Coatl icue.

auh in oquittaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie oztli, cenca qualanque quitoque ac oq'chivili y? aquin ocotzti? techaviłq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

auh in jnveltiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noquichtioan techavilquiztia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlaueliloc in ie oztli: ca oquichivili in itic ca.

auh in oquima Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconeuh in jtic catca quiiollaliaia, quioalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

in oquicac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconeuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oquiōtlalique in jntlatol, in oquicemjtoq̄ iça quimictizque in jnnan, ichica ca otlapinauhti, ça çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in quiçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca quinioleoaia, quiniollococoltiaia in joquichtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cēntzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocēcaoa, moiaochichioa.

auh in ichoantin centzoovitznaoa, iuhq'n tequjoaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquauicujaia, quiquauicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necoc quitlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein quitooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, cononotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlatzine, vel xonmotlacaquilti ic ne njcmati.

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oquicemjtoque, in ocenteitx in jntlatol, injc quimjctisque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "*se el cauo passo a la barriga.*"
5. Quauhtinchan is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born. See Cline (*op. cit.*, p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

-2-

773
539

that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

tinque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhqui, vel nuchichicaoa, mocecenquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, intech quitlalique in jmamatlaquj, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujlolli, yoan in coiolli incoztitech qujlpique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaiecotivj, momamâtivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic mõtlalotitleco, in qujnonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

njman qujto in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cã ie vitze,

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan istivitze.

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

njman jc conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman jc oallacat,

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teueuelli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

njman itlaquj oalieria in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xoxoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic onmichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monographs No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of *tzintzintli* are mentioned.

9. *Tlalcapan*: an use of *tlan* in composition, see Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk der Frey Bernardino de Sahagún und dem Anonymus Aberystwyth* (ed. Camilla Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in rituals, later came to be names of places around the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, used perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where Apetlac and Coaxalpan are referred to just as names but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. I.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 254, n. 1: "*Schild mit Adlern aus verschiedenen Zeug.*"

-3-

773
539

agonal stripes[12] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[13] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Coyolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[14] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[14a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely bested and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[15] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechiual, moquapotonj, izquac, yoan inanacaztlan, auh ce pitzaoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quipotonj in jxocpal, yoan quijtzoocoan in jmetz vmexti, yoan vmexti in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalquj contlati in xjuhcoatl, quicalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhquj: auh njman quechcotontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa onmocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetzititivetz, cecencan veuetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ie oaleoa, qujnoaltoca intlan aquj, qujnoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oqujmaxitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ie ic qujntoca, qujniaiaoalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiaoalochti, in qui iaiaoalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nẽ quioaloiuiaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia, aoc tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel axque, aocmo vel quitzacuilique, çan quincemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quincenteporzti, vel quinpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quinpoctlantili.

auh in ça aocmo vel quincaoaia, in ovel in centech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhujaia ma izquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quintocac. ach ça quexquitoton in ixpanpa conque, in imacpa quinque vmpa-itztique in vitztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztique, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquinquintin in imetztlanpa quintique in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ie iuhquj in oquinmjcti, in oyiellelquia quincuili in jntlatequj, in jnnechichical in anecuiol,

12. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
13. Corresponding Spanish text: "Una culebra, hecha de tosa, que se llamaba xiuhcoatl."
14. See Pl. 2.
14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 257) translates this passage thus: "*vergebens rannte sie ihm an mit ihren Rundes, vergebens wandten sie die Schilde um, schlugen sie (vor Aerger gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts mehr machen, nichts mehr tun, konnten sich nicht mehr gegen ihn verteidigen.*"
15. Following *ninehuapa*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *ya in mextenco ninehuapa*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Ninehuapa, because indeed there there Centzonuitznaua journeyed. . . . ."
16. *Centzonuitznaua* probably *centzonuitznaua* is intended.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

[them] for himself; he assumed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl icue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so].[17] And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlatquiti, quimaxcati, quimotonalti, iuhq'n quimotlavizti. 773

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc inje otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nez in ita. 539

Jehoatl in oquipiaia in mexica inje otlamanitiaia, inic oquimaviztiliaia, oquitlaecoltiaia, ioan in itech muchioaia in Vitzilobuchtli. auh in iehoatl in tlamaviztililiztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaãtli in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh

ie izquich.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalotl* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked *maguey*, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, pointed with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INJC VIEI PARRAPHO vncan moteneoa in quenjn quj-maviztiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc quimoteutiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in qujtlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, caxtlaliaia, caxtiliaia, iuhqujn axjn, iuhquin ivitl, qujtlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tezcaoauhtli, yoan ipolocatl, yoan in palanquj, yoan in oc cequi tlaçoltotonti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichitotzaia,

auh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhqujn ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhqujn axi.

auh in imuztlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

auh in quimjctiaia iehoatl in Quetzalcoatl: auh injc qujmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatecpaio conaqujliaia yiollopa,

17. For *mocãhuia*, the *Real Palacio MS* has *mocãhuaque*, which is perhaps more logical.
18. See Pt. 3.
19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 62, nn. 28—which identifies *chicalotl* with *mizquichicalli* or "fish amaranth"—and 30. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 758) translates the phrase *auiki chicalotl tzoalli* as *den Samen der Stachelmelde*; for *chicalotl* he has *Stachelmelde* (*Argemone mexicana*)—prickly poppy.
20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 9).

- 5 -

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it is said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capítulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej naoalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein quichiuh iquac ia.

539 [776]

In ichoatl, in quetzalcoatl: iuhqujma teutl ipan quimatia, neteutiloia, teumachoia, in iquin ie vecauh, in vmpa tullan.

auh in vncā onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapā, cenca quauhtic, ixtāchiquauhtic, ixtachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel cece xocpalli, vmpan onoca

[346]

qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, tentzonpachtic,

· auh in tolteca, in imaceoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan teucujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in ixquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan iteucujtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan itecciacal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imaceoahoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nemilli*. Garibay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *obras*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *nemi* is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *nehuatl*, *nehuatia* (an archaic verb surviving in compositions), then the meaning is close to magicians or pseudoplatonic, or—following Molina (*cf. nehuatiliztli, nehuatlachia*, etc.)—to lust; (3) if the root is the Maya *ne, nen, nene*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Garibay favors the second possibility.

2. Sobre (*Enviaje Español*, p. 268, n. 1) corrects *in canjn* to *in quenin*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was wind god and priest god (Soler: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 28), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Cover: *op. cit.*, p. 18). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most coherent account of Quetzalcoatl as the priest-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 69ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Totepeuh, who died A. D. 934. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

4. *Tecuxiuhcal*: gold or silver, according to Rémi Simeon, *op. cit.* Specifically, '*texoxi tecuxiuhcal* (*or tael cuyamhqui*) *in* gold, and *istac tecuxiuhcal* is silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without tiring, according to Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 114.

539

And there was a hill named Tzatzitepetl. Just so is it named today. It is said that there the crier stationed himself; [for] that which was required he placed himself there in order to announce [it]. He was heard clearly in distant places;[5a] everywhere was heard that which he said, the laws that were made. Swiftly all would come forth to learn what Quetzalcoatl had commanded the people.

And also they were very rich. Of no value were food and all sustenance. It is said that all the squashes were very large, and some were quite round. And the ears of maize were as large as hand grinding stones,[6] and long. They could hardly be embraced in one's arms. And the amaranth plants—verily, they climbed up them; they could be climbed. And also colored cotton prospered—bright red, yellow, rose colored, violet, green, azure, verdigris color, whitish, brown, shadowy, rose red, and coyote colored.[7] All different [colored cottons] were this way; so they grew; they did not dye them.

And there dwelt all [varieties of] birds of precious feather—the blue cotinga, the quetzal, the trupial, the red spoonbill, and all the different birds, which spoke very well; which sang right sweetly. And all the green stones and gold were not costly. Very much [of all this] was owned. And also chocolate—*xochicacaoatl*[8]—was made. In very many places there was chocolate.

And these Toltecs enjoyed great wealth; they were rich; never were they poor. Nothing did they lack in their homes. Never was there want. And the small ears of maize were of no use to them; they only [burned them to] heat the sweat baths.

And this Quetzalcoatl also did penances. He bled the calf of his leg to stain thorns with blood.[9] And he bathed at midnight. And he bathed there where his bathing place was, at a placed name Xippacoyan.[10] Him the fire priests imitated, and the [other] priests. And the priests took their manner of conduct from the life of Quetzalcoatl. By it they ordained the law of Tula. Thus were customs established here in Mexico.

auh vncan centetl tepetl, motocaiotia tzatzitepetl, no çan njuh mjtoa in axcan, quil vncan moquetzaia in tecpoiotl, in tlejn monequia, vncan moquetzaia in tzatzia, vel oncaquiztia in anaoac, vel izqujchcapa oalcacoia, in tlein quitooaia, in tleí naoatilli muchioaia, iciuhca oalvilooaia, quioalmatia in tleí ic tenaoatia Quetzalcoatl.

Auh yoan vel mocujltonooaia, hatlaçotli catca, in qualoni, in izq'ch in tonacaiutl, qujlmach in aiotetl, cenca vevejtepopol catca, cequi çan mamalacachtic: auh in cintli vel memetlapiltic, vivitlatztic, çan quimalcochoaia. auh in ouhçoiatl, vel quitlecaviaia, vel tlecaviloia. Auh yoã no vmpa muchioaia in tlapapal ichcatl, in chichiltic, in coztic, in tlaztalcoaltic in camopaltic, xoxoctic, matlaltic, quilpaltic, vitztecoltic, camiltic, movitic, xochipaltic, cosoichcatl yn hin. in izquitlamãtli, çan njman iuh qujçaia amo quipaia.

Auh izqujch nenca in tlaçototl, y xiuhtototl, in quetzaltototl, i çaqua, in tlauhquechol, yoan in ie izquich nepapan tototi in cenca vel tlatoa, in vel tepacic cujca: auh yoan in izquich in chalchivitl, in teucujtlatl, amo tlaçotli catca, cenca miec in mopiaia, auh yoan no muchioaia in cacaoatl, in xochicacaoatl, vel mieccan, icaca in cacaoatl catca.

Auh in ichoantin in tolteca, cẽca mocujltonovaia, motlacamatia, aic motolinjaia, atle monectoca in jtechan aic maianaia: auh in molquitl, amo intech monequja, çan jc temazcallatiaia,

auh yoã in ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl no tlamaceoaia quiçoaia, in itlanitz ynjc quezviaia in vitztli, yoan maltiaia iooalnepantla: auh in vmpa onmaltia, in incaltiaia catca, itocaiocan xippacoiã ichoatl quitlaiciehcalviaia in tletlenamacaque, yoan in tlamacazque, inemiliz in quetzalcoatl in qujmonemilixtiaia in tlamacazque, tullan tlamanitilixtli, injc otlamanitiaia, inic otlamanca in nican mexico.

5a. On Axaxac. *v. inf.*, chap. 12, n. 2.

6. *Metlapilli*: *molendar ston que sumelen el maiz* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

7. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.*, on colors. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 279) offers these variants: *camopaltic*—"*bräunlich-rot* (*camopaltic*)"; *coztic*—"*blaugrün*"; *quilpaltic*—"*grün*"; *matlaltic*—"*orangefarben*"; *camiltic*—"*schmutzig*"; *xochipaltic*—"*rosafarben*"; *cosoichcatl*—"*der fahlgelbe* (*coyote-farbene*) *baumwolle*."

8. In *loc. cit.*, Seler equates this with "*Blumenkakao* (*xochikakaoatl*; *Hintze Kakaoart*)."

9. See Fl. 9.

10. See Fl. 10.

539

Fourth Chapter, which telleth how the glory of Quetzalcoatl came to an end, and how three sorcerers came to him, and what they did.[1]

And at this time, Quetzalcoatl and all the Toltecs became slothful. And there approached and came, as evil sorcerers, three demons—Uitzilopochtli, Titlacauan, and Tlacauepan.[2] All three practised sorcery that they might bring ruin to Tula.

This Titlacauan began casting the spell. It is told that he turned himself into a little old man. He counterfeited and took the form of one who was much bent and whose hair was very white, very silvery. Thereupon he went to the home of Quetzalcoatl.

When he had gone there, he then said [to the retainers]: "I wish to see the chief, Quetzalcoatl."

Then [the others] replied to him: "Go hence, old man. The chief is sick. Thou wilt vex him."

Then the old man said: "Nay, verily I will see him; verily I must come to him."

They said to him: "So be it. Wait a little. We shall tell him."

And thereupon they informed Quetzalcoatl. They said to him: "My prince, an old man hath come to speak with thee, one who seemeth like a net, like a trap for thee.[3a] We would turn him away, but he wisheth not to go. He saith only: 'I will see the chief for myself.'"

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "Let *him* come; let him enter. For I have awaited him for some little time."

Then they brought him in to Quetzalcoatl.

Thereupon the old man came and said to him: "My grandson, my chief, how is thy health? Here is a potion which I have brought for thee. Drink it."[3]

And then Quetzalcoatl said: "Come here, O old one. Thou art spent; thou hast tired thyself. For some time I have awaited thee."

Injc nauj Capitulo itechpa tlatoa, in quenjn tzõquizqui ymuizio, in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in quenjn oallaq Eyntin nanacaltin in iuicpa, yoan in tlein quiqujuhque.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatlaziuiti in Quetzalcõtl, yoan in izquichtin tolteca. auh njmã ic oallaque in tlatetzauico. Eẽtin, in tlatlacateculo, Vitzilobochtli, Titlacaoan, Tlacavepã, i eixtin tlatetzãuique injc tlalpoliuiz in tullan.

in iehoatl Titlacaoan, ie quipeoalti injc tlatetzaui, quilmach veuentõ ipan mocuep, ipan mixeuh, ipã moquixti, ovelcoliuh, ovelquaiztaz, ocomo, quaztapaton, njman ie ic iauh in ichã in Quetzalcoatl:

in oonia, njman ie ic quitrilhuja, nicnottiliznequi in tlacatl Quetzalcoatl:

njman quilhuique, nepa xiauh veventone, mococoialtia in tlacatl, ticamanaz,

njman njman quito in vevẽto, ca amo ça nicnottiliz, ça itech ninaxitiz,

quilvique, ca ie qualli oc xicchia, tla oc tictolviliti,

auh njman ie ic quinonotza in Quetzalcoatl quilhuia, nopiltzintzine, aquin ovalla vevento mjtzmotilico iuhqui nopevilma, iuhquin amo tlaçalma, in tictotoca ça njman amo iaznequi, quitoa ca ça nicnottilia in tlacatl,

njmã quito in Quetzalcoatl: ma oallauh, ma oalcalaqui, ca iehoatl in njcchia in ie macuil in ie matlac,

njman ic concalaquique ipan in Quetzalcoatl:

in vevento, njman ie ic quitlalloa quilhui noxviuhtzine, tlacatle, quen ticmomachitia in monacaiotzin, ca njcan catquj in patli, yn onimjtzalnotquilili ma xicmiti,

auh njman quito in Quetzalcoatl: tla xioallauh veventze, otiquihjiovi, oticciauh, ca ie macuil ie matlac, in nimichia:

---

1. *Quiquihdque*: probably *quichdque* is meant.
2. Tezcatlipoca (Titlacauan), Huitzilopochtli, and Tohuaztli, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 77). Tezcatlipoca (*op. cit.*, p. 79) says that Tezcatlipoca descended from heaven by a rope of cobwebs; changed himself into an ocelot during a game of ollamalitli with Quetzalcoatl; drove him from Tula; and pursued him from city to city, until finally to Cholula.
3a. *Amolinqui* we may be a copyist's error. We have follow Angel María Garibay, *Llave del nahuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: s.p., 1940), pp. 91, 135.
3. See Pl. 11.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

539

And then the old man replied to him: "My grandson, how, in sooth, is thy health?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to him: "Verily, much do I ail in all parts. Nowhere am I well—my hands, my feet. In truth, my body is tired, as if it were undone."

And then the old one said to him: "Here is the potion, good, soothing, and intoxicating. If thou shalt drink of it, it will relieve and heal thy body. And thou shalt weep; thy heart will become troubled. Thou shalt think upon thy death. And also thou shalt think upon where thou shalt go."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Where am I to go, old one?"

Then the old man said to him: "Yea, thou shalt go there to Tollan-Tlapallan. A man there standeth guard, one already aged. Ye shall consult with each other. And when thou shalt return here, thou shalt again have been made a child."

On this, Quetzalcoatl was [much] moved. And the old man once more said: "Be of good cheer. Drink the potion."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Old man, I will not drink of it."

Then the old man said to him: "Drink of it; thou shalt feel a need [for it]. Nay, only place [some of it] before thee [as] thy [small] portion [in case thou feelest] thy desire [for it].[4] Taste only a little of it."

And Quetzalcoatl then tasted a little, and afterwards drank heartily of it.

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "What is this? It is very good. The sickness is now abated. Where went the pain? No longer am I sick."

Then the old man said: "Drink of it once again; the potion is good. Thus will thy body gain strength."

And as soon as he had once more drunk of it—all,—then he became sotted. Thereupon he wept, and greatly was he moved. Thus, at this time, was Quetzalcoatl aroused; his heart was quickened. No longer could he forget what had happened, but went on reflecting, realizing [that] indeed the devil had tricked him.

[273] And the potion which [the old man] had offered him, it is told, was white wine. And it is said that this [wine] was made of the sap of the *maguey* called *teometl*.[5]

auh njmā quilhoi in vevento, nexviuhtzine quen vel ticmomachitia, in monacaiotzin,

njman quilhuj in Quetzalcoatl: ca cenca noviā ninococova acan veli in momac, in noczic, vel çoçotlaoa in nonacaio, iuhquj ciciotomj:

auh njmā quilhui in vevento, ca nican catquj, in patli cenca qualli, iamanquj, yoan tetech quiz, intla ticmitiz, motech quiçaz, yoan qujiamanilitz in monacaio, yoā tichocaz, icnoiovaz in moiolloˆ tiquilnamiquiz, in momiquiz. auh yoan vel ipan tiquilnamiquiz incampa tiaz.

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: campa niaz veventzc:

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca ça tiaz in vmpa tullan tlapalan: ce tlacatl vmpa tlapia ie vevetlacatl, īmononotzazque. auh in iquac tiualmocuepaz, oc ceppa tipiltontli timuchiouaz,

njman ic moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl: auh in vevento ie no ceppa quilhuj, tlasque xocōmiti, in patli,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl veventzc ca amo niquiz,

njman quilhuj in vevēto, ma ça xoconmjti timotolliniz, ma çan nel noço mixquac xocontlali motonal motolinia, ma çan achiˆ xoconmopaloti.

auh in Quetzalcoatl: njman conpalo achiton: auh çatepā vel conjc,

njman qujto in Quetzalcoatl: tlen j? ca cenca, qualli, in cocolistli ca oc onpolo, campan oia cocolli caocmo njnococoa,

njman quilhuj in vevento, ca oc ce xoconj ca qualli in patli ic chicaoaz in monacaio,

auh niman ic ie no ceppa ce conjc, njman ic ivintic, njman ie ic choca vel ielelquiça, ic vncan moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl, vncā tlapan in jiollo, xocmo conilcacoaia, ça ie in quimattinenca in qujmattinemja vel qujoalmalacacho in tlacateculol:

auh I patli qujmacac, quilmach ichoatl in iztac vetli, yoan quil ichoatl in teumetl ynecuio ic tlachiuhdi.

---

4. In Sahagún (*Historia Kupidel*, p. 273) and in Angel María Garibay K. (*op. cit.*, p. 136), *tlamatiloia* and *mamatiloia* are translated as *desmallada* and *mareada*. The present version follows, however, both the *Real Palacio MS* and the *Florentine Codex*.

5. The medicinal qualities of *octomatl* are described in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), Vol. III, p. 239.

4: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of another fraud which the sorcerer Titlacauan wrought.

And behold another thing which Titlacauan did, thus casting a spell. He took the form and played the part of a stranger.[1] He walked about [with virile member] hanging [uncovered], and sold green *chilis*. He went to sit in the market place, before the palace entrance.

And the daughter of Uemac[2] [was] very fair. Many among the Tolteca desired her and sought her, that they might marry her. But to none would Uemac listen. He gave her to no one.

And this daughter of Uemac looked out into the market place and saw the stranger with [virile member] hanging [uncovered].

And when she had seen him, she went into the house. Thereupon she sickened; she became tense and inflamed [because of] her desire of the stranger's member.

And Uemac then learned that his daughter was sick. He said to the women who guarded her: "What hath happened? What hath she done? How began that which hath inflamed my daughter?"

Then the women who guarded her said to him: "It is he, the stranger who selleth green *chilis*. He hath inflamed and vexed her. Thus [it] began; thus sickness seized her."

And Uemac, the chief, thereupon commanded and said: "O Tolteca, let the green *chili* vending stranger be sought out; [let him] appear [before me]."

Thereupon was he sought everywhere. And when

Injc, naciuilli Capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh naoalli titlacaoan.

Auh iccatquj oc centlamantli, in quichiuh Titlacaoa, injc tlatetzavi, ipan moquixti, ipā mixeuh Touenio, çan tlapilotinemj, chilchotl quinanamaca, onmotlalito tianquizco tecpā quijiaoac:

auh injchpoch Vemac, cenca qualli, cenca mjec tlacatl in tulteca in queleviaia, in quitlania, in qujmocioaoatizquja, çan aiac quitlavelcaquili in Vemac: aiac qujmacac:

auh in iehoatl injchpoch in Vemac oallachix in tianquizco, qujoalittac in tovenio tlapilotica.

auh in oqujttac niman calac in calitic, njman ie ic mococoa, teponacivi, popoçaoa, iuhqujn qujmotolinj in jtotouh in tovenio,

auh in Vemac: njman qujma in ie mococoa ichpoch, quimilvi in cihoa in quipia tle oax tle ay, quen opeuh in ie popoçaoa in nochpotzin,

njman quilvique in cihoa in quipiaia, ca ie in tovenio chilchonamacac, oquitlahtili, quitlatolinj, ic opeuh, ie ic ococolizcujc.

auh in Vemac in tlatoanj, njman ie ic tlanaoatia quito, tultecaie ma temolo in chilchonamacac tovenio, necix,

njman ie ic tlatemolo cēmanaoac: auh in iquac aiac

1. The corresponding Spanish text has: "*se bolujo, y parecio, como un ydalio forastero, que se llama mexyo.*" In the Bukvalo edition (Vol. III, pp. 130, 132, 140) the terms *mexyo* and *mexicatl* are given as equivalent. See also Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 1), who refers to him throughout as a Huaxtec (*cuextecatl*).

2. Reigned A. D. 994-1070, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 48) has him contemporary with Quetzalcoatl—"*aunque en lo temporal era el que governaba en Tollan, llamado Huemac; en lo espiritual, y Eclesiastico este Quetzalcohuatl era superior, y como Pontifice Maximo.*" Fernando de Alva Texcocano, in *Histoire des chichimeques ou des anciens rois de Texcuco* (H. Ternaux-Compans, ed.: Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840), Vol. I, p. 6, identifies one with the other. Désiré Charnay, in *Ancient Cities of the New World* (tr. J. Gonino and H. S. Conant; New York: Harper, 1887) says the same. So does Paul Kirchhoff ("Los pueblos de la historia tolteca-chichimeca," *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos*, IV [1940], pp. 97—Huemac), citing Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, I, 19-20) although the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* makes him a child adopted by the Chichimecas (p. 79). Of Quetzalcoatl, Torquemada says: "*Un dia que los dioses le nuvo Huemac, para que pour prouver que tout ce qu'il avoit entamé s'accomplireit, il imprima sur sa main sur un rocher comme sur de la cire molle.*" (See Chaps. xii, xiii.) Citing Ixtlilxochitl, p. 1, col. 3, Ternaux-Compans says Huemac was an astrologer and sage who led the Toltecs and wrote the *Teoamoxtli*, a work dealing with the history, genealogy, moral principles, religious beliefs and ceremonies, philosophy, astrology, agriculture, and prophecy of the times; he died aged more than 300 years (p. 6, n. 1).

Commenting on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 16-17) states that by the time of Huemac, the priestly office was occupied by a priest titled Quetzalcoatl, and separated from the civil office, held by Huemac. This passage summarizes the history of Huemac, which may also be found in Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* or in Velázquez's *Códice Chimalpopoca*. The text of this document, however, states that Huemac was a successor of Quetzalcoatl (*see Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 12 ff).

539

no one came forth, thereupon the herald cried out from Tzatzitepetl. He said: "O Toltecs, [if] perchance ye see the green *chili* vending stranger, bring him here. The chief seeketh him."

Thereupon they looked and went everywhere; they went scattered through Tula as they looked. And when they had tired themselves and seen him nowhere, then they came [back] to tell the chief that verily nowhere could they see him.

And afterwards [the stranger] appeared of his own will in the same place where he had [formerly] come to sit when first he was seen.

And when he had been seen, then they went in haste to tell [the chief]. They said: "The stranger hath appeared."

Then Uemac said: "Let him come at once."

Then the Toltecs quickly went to seize the stranger. They brought him before the chief.

And when they had brought him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Where is thy home?"

Then [the other] replied to him: "I am a stranger. I sell little *chilis*."

Then the chief said to him: "Where hast thou been, stranger? Don thy breech clout; cover thyself."

Then [the stranger] replied to him: "Nay, but to this manner are we accustomed."

And the chief then said to him: "But thou hast afflicted my daughter. Thou art the one who must heal her."

Then [the stranger] said to him: "My dear stranger, my dear lord, this may not be. [Rather] slay me, kill me, let me die. What sayest thou to me? I am not the only one who selleth green *chilis*."

And then the chief said: "Nay, thou shalt heal her. Have no fear."

And thereupon they arranged his hair and they bathed him. Then they anointed him, they gave him a breech clout and girt him with it.

And when they had arrayed him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Look upon my daughter there where she is guarded."

And when he went there, then he lay with her, and then the woman was well. Later [the stranger] became the chief's son-in-law.

neci, njman ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl in tzatzitepec, quito tultecaie at canah anquitta chilchonamacac tovenio, xiqualvicacan, qujmotemolia in tlacatl,

njman ie ic tlatemoa, novian nemj, qujzaqualotinemi in tulian injc tlatemoa: auh in oncontiuhtlatique in acan quitta, njman jc qujnonotzaco in tlatoanj, in ca acan qujtta,

auh çatepan monomanexti çan ie no vncan in motlalico in vncan achtopa monexti:

auh in oittoc, njman qujnonotztivetzito, quilhuique, ca onez in tovenio,

njmā ic qujto in Vemac: ma oallauh iciuhca,
njman ic caantivetzito in tulteca in tovenio, qujvicaque ixpan in tlatoanj:
auh in oconvicaque njman ie ic quilvia in tlatoanj, can mochan,
njman ic quilhuj ca ni tovenio, chiltzintli njcnonamaquilia,
niman quilhuj in tlatovanj, canjn mach tinemj tovēioie, ma ximomaxtlati, ma ximotlapacho,
njman quilhuj ca çan ie tiuhque:

auh in tlatovanj njman quilhui ca otictlatolinj in nochpotzin in jn te ticpatiz.

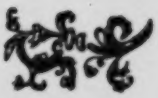
auh njman quilhuj noveniotzin, nopiltzi ca amo velitiz, xinechmjcti, xinechtlatlati, ma nimiquj, tlein tinechilvia amo çan njnochilchonamaquilia.

auh njmā qujto in tlatovanj ca amo ticpatiz, maca ximomauhti:
auh njman ie ic qujxima, caaltia in oconaaltique, njman ie ic coça qujmamaxtlatia, qujtlatlalpilia,

auh in oc ocencauhque, niman ie ic quilhuja in tlatovanj xiqujtta in nochpotzi, in vmpa pialo.

auh in oonia njman ie ic itech aci, njman ic paric in ciboatl, çatepan imo muchiuh in tlatoanj.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7



Sixth Chapter, which telleth how the Toltecs were angered because of the marriage of the daughter of Uemac; and of another work of sorcery which Titlacauan wrought.

And upon this, the Toltecs jested about [Uemac]; they mocked him and spoke in malice of him. They said: "And so the chief hath taken a stranger as son-in-law!" Thereafter the chief summoned the Toltecs; he said to them: "I have heard that jests are made of me, that already I am laughed at, for I have made the stranger my son-in-law. And this [shall ye do]—by deceit abandon him [while fighting] at Çacatepec and Coatepec."

And thereupon the Toltecs announced war; they all set out. Thereupon they went, that they might leave the son-in-law [to his fate].

And when they had gone off to war, thereupon they planted [apart][1] the stranger and all the dwarfs and cripples.

When they had planted them [apart], thereupon the Toltecs departed, to capture men—to take men from their foes, the Coatepeca.

And the stranger said to all the dwarfs and cripples: "Have no fear. Here we shall destroy them; here, by our hands, they will meet their doom."

And after this, thereupon the enemy took after the Toltecs. They thought to themselves that [the foe] would there slay the stranger, from whom in this manner they went, leaving him tricked, leaving him to die.

And upon this they hurried to inform the chief, Uemac. They said to him: "Lo, we have gone, abandoning the stranger, who was thy beloved son-in-law."

And Uemac rejoiced exceedingly, for he thought that [his death] was fact. For he was ashamed of the stranger whom he had made [his] son-in-law.

And this stranger, when they had gone leaving him abandoned in battle, when their foes, the Coatepeca and the Çacatepeca had already come up, thereupon commanded the dwarfs and the hunchbacks, and said to them: "Pay good heed! Have no fear!

1. Tlalnaoc: literally, bury or plant in the ground. Possibly a figurative meaning may be assumed.

Injc chiquacē capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenin qualanque tulteca, in ipampa in inenamictiliz in Vemac ichpuch. Yoan oc centlamātli tetzavitl in quichjuh titlacaoan. 539

Auh niman ie ic ica camanaloa in tulteca, quiqueloa, ica motetenqueloa, quitoaia mach tovenio oqujmomonti tlatoanj, çatepan quinnotz in tulteca in tlatoani quimjlhui, ca onjccac in ie noca camanalolo, in ie noca vetzco, in tovenio onjcnomonti: auh injn ma xoconnaoalcaoati in çacatepec, in coatepec.

auh njman ie ic inotlatoa in tulteca, cemolini, njman ie ic vi in quicaoazque, in montli:

auh in oniaque in iaoc, njman ie ic quitlaltoca in tovenio, yoan in ixqujchtin tzapame, in vilame,

yn oqujmontlaltocaque, njmā ie ic vi in tlatlacaanazque in tulteca in qujntlacaanazque in jniaovan in coatepeca,

auh in tovenio quimilhuja in ixqujchtī tzapame, in vilame, macamo ximomauhtica, nican tiquinpopolozque, njcan tomac tlamizque.

auh in ie iuhqui njman ie ic qujnoaltoca in tulteca in jniaooan, in momatque ca vncan quimjctizque in tovenio, in juhqui ocōnoalcaoato, quimiquizcaoato.

auh njman ie ic vitze qujnonotzazque in tlatoanj in Vemac, quilhuique, ca otoconcaoato in tovēio, in momontzin ocatca.

auh in Vemac: cenca papac in moma aço nelli, ace iuhquj, iehica ca ic pinaviztlamatia in tovenio, in oqujmomontica,

auh in iehoatl in tovenio in vmpa qujcaoato iaopan, in iquac ie vitze in jniaoan, in coatepeca, in çacatepeca. njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in tzapame, in tepotzotzone, quimilhuj cenca tle anqujmati, macamo ximomauhtican, macamo ximauhca çoneq'can, ma-

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

539

Be not cowards! Lose not heart! [For] already I know that ye will take them all captive, that in some manner we shall slay all of them!"

And when their foes came upon them and fell upon them, then they verily attacked and trampled over them. They slew them; they brought ruin on them; they destroyed them. Multitudes without number they slew of their foes.

And when the chief heard of it, he was greatly bemused and saddened. Upon this he summoned the Toltecs and said to them: "Let us go to meet our beloved son-in-law."

And the Toltecs then surged and burst forth. Thereupon they accompanied the chief; they went dispersed about him; they went circling him, to meet [the stranger]. The Toltecs took their panoply [with them]—the quetzal feather head device, and the turquoise mosaic shield. When they reached him, thereupon they gave and presented him the quetzal feather head device and the turquoise mosaic shield —all their array [which] they had [with them].

With [this] they proceeded dancing; they came dancing the captives' dance; they came bearing [the array] on their backs. They came singing in his honor; the song came forth resounding and rēchoing. They came blowing flutes in his honor; the shell trumpets roared and rang out. The shell trumpets approached, growing in sound.

And when they went to reach the palace, then they pasted the stranger's head with feathers, and they anointed him with yellow paint. And his face was spread with a red unguent. And all his friends were thus adorned.

And then Uemac said to his son-in-law: "Lo, now are the hearts of the Toltecs satisfied that thou art my son-in-law. Thou hast done well. Be received on this soil. Rest thy feet."

camo ximocuetlaxocan, ie ne nicmati, anmuchintin antlamazque, çacoquexixquichti tiquinmictizque.

auh in oipaneoaco, in oinpancholoco, in jniaooan, njmā in ca ieoaque, quinquequezteoaque, quinmjctique, qujmixtlatique, qujmixpoloque, cenca vel mjequintin, amo çan tlapoaltin in q'nmjctique, in jniaovan.

auh in oquicac in tlatoanj, cenca motlapololti, yoā motequipacho, njman ie ic quinnotza in tulteca quimjlhuj, ma ticnaniquiti, yn amomontzin:

auh in tulteca njman ie tzomonque, çoneoaque, njman ie ic quivica in tlatoanj, quitepevitivi, cololvitivj in tenamiquizque, in tulteca intlatqui ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan in xiuhchimalli, in oacique itech njman ie ic quitlamamaca, cōmacaque, in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoā in xiuhchimalli, in ixquich intlatquj ietia,

ipā mitotitivitz, momalitotitivitz, motelimantivitz, motimalotivitz, momamantivitz, quicuicatitivitze, cujcatl xauhtivitz, cuicatl caoantivitz, quitlapichilitivitze, in quiquixtli milintivitz, ī tecciztli, hoaoalacativitz,

auh in oacito in tecpan, njman quipotonique, in itzōteoō, yoan tecoçauhtica coçaque. yoā mjxtlapalhoatzalvi, yoan muchintī iuh muchichiuhque, injcnioan:

auh çatepan quilhuj in Vemac in jmon, ca axcan pachivj in jniollo tulteca, injc tinomon otitlacnelli, ma tlaltitech xaci, ma xjcmocevilj in mocxitzin.

20

20 -

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Seventh Chapter, where is related yet another act of magic which the sorcerer brought to pass so that the Toltecs died as they performed penances and danced.

A second work of sorcery this demon [wrought]: When he had been pasted with yellow feathers, when he had bested [his enemies], he then brought it about that they should dance and sing, that they should intone a song.

Thereupon the herald made his cry, from the summit of Tzatzitepetl; he cried out to and informed those in all the world over. Verily everywhere they heard the cry of the herald. And very swiftly all came [to Tula].

And when this was done, then [the sorcerer] went there to Texcalpan. And everyone, all the vassals, went [with him]. And when all the youths and maidens had gathered together, they could not be counted; they were very numerous.

Thereupon the demon began to sing. He sounded the drum; he beat his ground drum. Thereupon all danced; they went as if leaping; all grasped hands; [or] took hold of each other from behind. With much contentment was it sung; [the sound] of the song resounded, and rose and fell.

And the song which was chanted [was] only [one] which he then invented.

And when he intoned the song, right then they answered it. From his lips they took the song.

And the singing and dancing began at dusk. And when it ceased, [it was] midnight.

And as all danced, [as] the movement was vibrant and most intense, very many then fell on the crags in the canyon. All died there, and then were turned into rocks.

And [as for] the others at the craggy canyon, the demon then broke the bridge. And the bridge was of stone. Forthwith all fell there where they crossed the water. All turned into rocks.

And how this was done, not then did the Toltecs understand. It was as if they were besotted.

Inj chicome capitulo: vncā moteneoa in oc centlamantli tetzavitl in quichiuh naoalli, injc mjcque tulteca: injc maceoaia, mjtotiaia.

Injc ontlamantli tetzavitl, in ichoatl in tlacatecolutl, in iquac omopotoni tocivitica, in iquac oatepeuh, njman ie ic qujiocoia, in cujcamanaz,

njmā ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl, in tzatzitepetl icpac, onteitzatzilia, ontenotzaia, icemaronaoac, vel noviā quioalcaquja, in itzatziliz in tecpoiotl, auh çan vel iciuhca oalaxioaia.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ic ompa ia in texcalapa, yoan inq'ch tlacatl ia in maceoalli. auh in ocēquiz in ixquich in telpochtli in ichpochtli, amo çan tlapoaltin, vel ixachintin,

njmā ie ic peoa in cujca in tlacateculoti, tlatzotzona, quitzotzona, in jveveuh, njman ie ic netotilo, iuhqujh tlachocholivi, nehaano, necujtlanaoalo, cenca pacoa, in cujco, xixamacatimanj in cujcatl, yoan caoantimanj:

auh in cujcatl, in meoaia çan vncan in quipicticaca.

auh in iquac cuicatlaçaia, çan njmā qujnanquiliaia itenpā canaia in cuicatl.

auh in peoaia in cujcaoniolitli tlapoiaoa: auh in mocaoaia tlatlapitzalizpā.

auh in iquac netotiloia tlatlaxoqujvia, nexoxocoloia, cenca miequintin ōmotepeoaia in tepexic, in atlauhco, muchintin vmpa miquja, niman teme mocuepaia.

auh in oc ceqvintin texcalatlauhco, in tlacatecolutl njmā conpoztec in panooanj. auh in panooanj tetl catca, çan njmā muchintin vncā ōvetzque, in atl in vncan panooa, moch teme mocuepque.

auh in juh muchioaia y, socmo quen qujmatia in tulteca, iuhqujn oivintiq.

● 539 And many times was there singing and dancing there at Texcalpan. And as many times as there was song and dance, so many times was there slaughter. All were dashed upon the crags.

They fell; verily, the Toltecs destroyed themselves.

auh miecpa cujcoanoloia in ẽcan texcalapan, auh in quezquipa, cujcoanoloia no izquipa micoaia, ne-tepexiviloia tepexic.

in onnetepeoaloia vel mixtlatiaia in tulteca.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of another act of magic which that same sorcerer wrought, whereby yet many more Toltecs died.

Behold yet another [act of sorcery] which the demon brought to pass.

It is said that once upon a time he took the form of a valiant warrior. He commanded the herald, the crier, that he should cry to the whole world that they come hence.

The crier said: "Let all men come! Let all the vassals come here! Ye shall go there to Xochitlan. The floating gardens will be harvested."

Thereupon came all the vassals. They came to the flower garden. (And as for naming it Xochitlan: they say it was the flower field of Quetzalcoatl.)

And when the Toltecs had come, gathered and massed together, thereupon the brave warrior slew them; he smote them; he beat the backs of their heads; in sooth, many [of them], without number, died at his hands. For he slew them.

And the rest of them, who indeed fled running, who were in headlong flight, went fleeing from his hands. As they went off, [seeking to] escape, as they ran, they injured one another and there they died. And still others trampled and crushed one another. All died there.

Injc chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh çan ie no ichoatl naoalli, injc oc cẽca miequjntin micqne tulteca. 539

Izcatquj oc centlamantli, yoan in quichjuh in tlacateculotl,

quil ceppa tequioa ipan moqujxti, qujnaoatiaia in tecpoiotl, in tzatzinj injc ontetzatziliz cematonaoac injc oalviloaz,

quitoaia in tecpoiotl, ma ixqujch tlacatl oallauh, ma ixqujch tlacatl oaloliinj in maceoalli, vmpa antlamativitze in xochitla, chinantecoz, tlatecoz,

njmã ie ic vitze in jxqujchtin maceoaltin oallamatiaque in xochitla (auh injc moteneoa xochitla quil xochimjlpa catca in Quetzalcoatl).

auh in ocenqujxoac, in ocenquizque, in otecpichauhq̃, in tulteca, njmã ie ic temjctia, tevivitequi, tecuexcochvivitequj in tequioa, vel miec amo çan tlatlapoalli, in jmac mjc, in qujntlatlati,

auh in oc cequjntin in çan cholozquja, in mocholtizquja, in jmacpa ieoazquja in jmatitlanpa quiçazquja, in motlalovaia, in motlavitequja, njmã miquja, auh in oc cequjntin moquequeçaia, mopapatzoaia, moch vncan mjcque.

[p. 24 is [23] blank]

539 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which many more Toltecs perished.**

Behold still another act of sorcery which the demon did. He came to seat himself in the middle of the market place. He called himself Tlacauepan or Cuexcoch[tzin]. There he caused to dance [a figure] like a child. (They say it was Uitzilopochtli.) In his hand he held him as he made him dance.

And when the Toltecs saw this, thereupon they crowded toward him; they stumbled toward him in order to see it. Very many men were there trampled and died in the press as [the others] crushed them to death.

And when thus many times it came to pass that large numbers died in this way, as they looked while he made [the figure] dance, this same demon[1] said, with shouts, "O Toltecs, what sort of sorcery is this? Is it not an omen of evil that one is made to dance? As for this one, let him die; let him be stoned!"

Then they stoned him. He fell under the stones. And when this was done, [his body] thereafter stank; it smelt quite frightful; in truth, it wounded the head. And wheresoever the wind carried the stench, there the common folk died.

And when already very many men had thus died of its fumes, thereupon to the Toltecs this same demon said: "Let this dead one be cast away; let him be thrown out. For already his odor destroyeth [men]. Let him be dragged away."

And the Toltecs thereupon put a rope about [the body] and then [sought to] drag it away.[2] And now when they tried to heave it, they could not move it. It was very heavy—this, to which at first they had paid little heed, of which they had thought as of little import.

Then a message went out, and the herald said: "Let all men come here! Bring here your heavy ropes that ye may go and cast away the dead one."

And when the Toltecs came to gather together, thereupon they fastened the dead one with ropes.

Inje chicunnauj capítulo: itechpa tlatoa in oc no centlamantli tetzavitl, in çan ie no hoatl quichiuh naoalli, inje oc cenca vellapanavia ixpoliuhque tulteca.

Isca oc centlamantli in mochiuh in tlacateculotl tianquiznepãtla in oalmotlalia, quimotocaioti: Tlacavepan, anoço cuexcoch, vncã quitotiaia iuhquin piltontli (quilmach iehoatl in Vitzilobuchtli) imac quiquetzaia in quitotiaia,

auh in oquittaque in tulteca, niman ie ic ivic onoquivi, ivic onmotepeoa in quittazque, vel mjec tlacatl in vncan quequeçaloia, in patzmiquia, in quinpatzmjctiaia,

auh in ie mjecpa iuh muchioa in miequintin ie miquj, in quittaia in teitotia, ça ie no ie in cacateculotl in tzatzic quito, tultecaie tlen oc ie tetzauitl? amo totetzauh in teitotia. auh inin ma miquj, ma tetepacholo,

njman ic quitetepachoque tetica vetz: auh in ie iuhquj njman ie ic yiaia, vel temamauhti inje yias, vel tetzõvitec auh incampa quivica ichecatl in jiaca njman ic miquja in maceoalti.

auh in iquac ie mjec tlacatl ic miquj yn jiaca, njmã ie ic quimilhuj in tulteca, çan ie no ie tlacateculotl quito, inin mjcquj ma vetzi, ma motlaça ca ie tlaixpoloa yn jiaializ, ma movilana.

auh in tulteca njmã ie ic quimecaiotia, njman ie ic quivilana: auh in iquac ie quivilana haquecoa, cenca ietic, in achtopa atle ipan quitta ca quimoxictica,

çatepan njmã ie ic tzatzioa. auh quito in tecpoiotl, ma ixquich tlacatl oallauh: anquimalcuizque amovepanmocauh, motlaçatiuh in mjcquj,

auh in ocenquiçato in tulteca, njmã ie ic quimeme-

1. Quauhxolotl, in the Aztec text, is probably meant to be diminished.
2. See Pl. 12.

539 Then the Toltecs murmured; they said to themselves: "O Toltecs, along with it! Let it be pulled!"

But they could not then raise it; they could not move it. And when one of the ropes broke, then died all. As many as extend..d along the rope tumbled; they fell all mingled together, and then died.

And when they could in no way drag it, when they could not approach it, thereupon the demon said to the Toltecs: "O Toltecs, he hath need of his song."

Thereupon he chanted the song for the Toltecs. He intoned: "Drag away our log, Tlacauepan the demon."

And as they chanted, forthwith they thus made the dead one move;[3] they came forward with it; they proceeded shouting. When a rope [again] snapped, then on all of them the log fell, so that it ran over them. And many were indeed crushed.[4] So were they crushed that thus they died.

And when all the rest who had gone to cast away the dead one, Tlacauepan, thereupon turned back, it was as if they paid no heed to all that had been done to them. No longer did they consider it an evil omen; [they were] as if besotted.

caiotia in micquj, njmā ie ic icaoaca in tultecā, qujmilhuja tultecaie macuele, ma tlatilinjlo.

auh çan njmā amo queoa, avel colinja: auh ī ce cotonj mecatl njmā ixquichtin miquj in inquintin itech ononque mecatl, vetzi monenepanotivetzi, njmā miquja.

auh in iquac in çan njmā avel colinja in avel itlan aquj, njmā ie ic qujmilhuja, in tulteca in tlacateculotl. Toltecaie icujc quinequi,

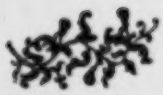
njman ie ic quimevilia in tulteca in cujcatl, queuh, xitlavilanaca ie tovepan tlacavepan tlacateculotl.

auh in oquevi, quin ie ic colinique in mjcquj, qujmotlalochtia, qujcaoatttivi, ice cotoni mecatl, njmā muchintin inpan isuh in vepātli, in jnpan motlaloa, yoan miequintin in can moquequexque. inin opapatzoque, ic mjcque.

auh in oquixquichtin mocauhque quitlaçato in mjcqui, in tlacavepan, njman ie ic oalmocuepa, iuhquin aoc tle ipan quitta in ixquich inpan muchioaia, aocmo qujtetzauhmatia, iuhquin oivjntiq.

3. Possibly the Aztec should have read *ontlinique* rather than *otlinique*.
4. Can, in the Aztec text, should probably be *qua*.

4: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7



Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white kite, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Toltecs, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Toltecs. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Toltecs saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Toltecs, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Toltecs goeth. Yea, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Toltecs. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapoltepecuitlapilco[1] it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any destined to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc matlactli cxpiloalo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj tetzavitl, in ça ie no iehoatl quichiuh naoalli, injc tlatetzanvi tullā. 539

Izca yoan injc tlatetzāvi in tlacatecuiotl, in tullen, quilmach iztac cuixi, tlatzontectica mjntinenca, patlantinenca, mocanauhtinenca, in jnpan tulteca amo veca in quittzinenca in tlalli injc mocanauhtinenca, vel quittaia acopa conittzinenca, conacopaittinenca.

Izca yoan oc cētlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh muchiuh in tulteca, quil centetl tepetl itoca çacatepetl tlatlaia, in iocaltica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecuecaltotl veca ieoaia, in iquac quittaia tulteca, vel mocomoniaia, maccenanaia, maltimoquetzaia, in netenvitecoia, in netenpapaviloia, aoc tlatlaca mamanca, aoc yvian ieloaia, auh injc quittaia itla tetzavitl, quitoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ietivi, ie iauh in tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlacxivitique quēnel campanel tiianque, o totlavelilti̇c, ximellaquaoscā. [187]

Izca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequijauh in tulteca, auh in otequjjauh, çatepan oaltemoc illujcacpa centetl vej techcatl vnpa in chapoltepecujtlapilco in vetzico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato, papannamacaia, quitocinēca ma amopatzin, auh in aquique, momiquitlanja quitoaia ma xinechponcóvi, njman ie ic iauh in vnpa ca techcatl, aiac quitoaia in tlein ie tay iuhquin otlapoloḳ.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco: an etymology, see Godoy, *Linor del editorial*, p. 199. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (corresponding Spanish text) regards *cuitlapilco* as a place name (Tenochtitlan), an alternative name of Chapoltepecuitlapilco.

[p. 28 is blank]

539 **Eleventh Chapter, in which is told yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which he mocked them, by which Tula was undone, and through which he slew not a few Toltecs.**

Behold also the manner in which sorcery was practised against the Toltecs.

It is said that the food soured—very bitter did it become. It could not be placed in one's mouth; none of the Toltecs could eat the food. In truth, so were the Toltecs mocked.

And an old woman (they said and considered that it was the devil who appeared and took the form of an old woman) came to sit there at Xochitlan. There she toasted maize. And the maize which she toasted spread its fragrance over all the region. In truth it expanded and spread among all who dwelt [there]. All over the land was spread the odor of the toasted maize.

And when they smelled the toasted maize, the Toltecs found [the smell] good; they found it satisfying and pleasing. And when they smelled it, quickly they came here and swiftly, reaching here in only a very few moments.[1] ([For] it is said that the Toltecs thought no place distant; they thought nowhere [too] remote. Even though they might live far away, swiftly they arrived, and also [as] rapidly [returned] whence they had come.)

And then, as many as had gathered together she slew and destroyed—all. Not then might they make their return. A great mockery was made of the Toltecs, since the devil had slain very many of them. It is said that in sooth he made sport of the Toltecs.

Injc matlactli vei, capítulo: vncan motenteoa in ce centlamantli tetzavitl in çan ie no ieh quichiuh naoalli injc teca mavilti, injc tlaixpolo tullan, in amo çan quexquich qujnmjcti in tulteca.

Izca yoan injc motetzanvique in tulteca,

qujl in tonacaiotl chichix, chichipatic, chichopatzôtic, muchiuh; aoc tecamac tlaliloia, çan njmâ aoc vel quiquaia in tulteca, in tonacaiotl vel in ca motzacaisuh in tulteca.

auh ce illamato (quitoa quil ieh in tlacatecuiotl ipan omixeuh, cõmixiptlati in jllamato) vmpa motlalito in xochitla, vmpa teycequjaia, auh in izquitl in quicequia vel onjiaia icematonaoac, vel inpan onmolonja, onmotecaia icematonaoac tlaca, centlalli motecaia yn jiaialix in izquitl.

auh in iquac quihnecuja in izquitl in tulteca quivelicamatia cahujcamatia, quivelmatia. auh in iquac quinecuja, yciuhca oalacitivetzia cenca çan achitonca, in oalacia (quil i tulteca hacan in veca quimatia hacan veca qujmatia, in manel veca nemja. iciuhca onacitivetzia, no iciuhca, in canjn oalcnaia).

auh in iquac in quexq'chtin cenquiçaia tuchintin vncan quinmjctiaia, quincenpopoloaia, aocmo imiloch innecuepal quichioaia, vel in ca mavilti in tulteca, injc cenca mjeqúinti quinmjcti, in tlacatecuiotl, mjtoa vel motultecatlamachti.

1. See Pl. 18.

[p. 30 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth how Quetzalcoatl departed and left in flight when he went to Tlapallan,[1] and of the many things which he did on the way.**

And still many more acts of sorcery were done to the Toltecs in order to destroy Tula.

And when these things happened, Quetzalcoatl was now troubled and saddened, and thereupon was minded that he should go—that he should abandon his city of Tula.

Thereupon he made ready. It is said that he had everything burned—his house of gold, his house of coral; and still other works of art, the marvelous and costly things, all [of these] he buried, he hid there in treacherous places: either within the mountains or in the canyons.

And, moreover, the cacao trees he changed into mesquites. And all the birds of precious [feather]—the quetzal, the blue cotinga, the red spoonbill—all [these] he sent away beforehand. Taking the road before him, they went toward Anauac.[2]

And when this was done, then he set forth; thereupon he followed the road.

Then he came to arrive at a place [called] Quauhtitlan. A very thick tree arose [there], and very tall. He stood by it. Then he called for his mirror. Thereupon he looked at himself; he saw himself in the glass and said: "Verily, now I am an old man." Then he named [the place] Uexoquauhtitlan.[3] And then he cast and hurled stones at the tree. And as he stoned it, [the stones] remained firmly encrusted and affixed to the great tree. Always thus have they been visible. Thus are they seen; beginning at the foot, they rise there to its top.

And as Quetzalcoatl followed the road, they went blowing flutes for him.

Once more he came to rest at another place. Upon a stone [Quetzalcoatl] rested himself. He supported

Injc matlactli vmome capítulo: itechpa tlatta, injc cholo injc cholo moielti Quetzalcoatl ynjc vmpa iah tlapalla, yoā in quezquitlamantli quichiuh vtlica.

Auh oc mjec tlamantli, in tetzavitl inpan muchiuh in tulteca, ynjc tlalpoliuh in tullan,

auh in ie iuhquj, in Quetzalcoatl, in je mamana, in ie motequipachoa, njmā ie ic quilnamiquj in iaz, in quitlalcaviz yn ialtepeuh in tullan,

njman ie ic mocencaoa, quilnach muchi qujtlatitia, in iteucujtlacal, in itapachcal, yoan oc cequi tultecatlatquitl in maviztlanquj, in tlaçotlāqui, much qujtocac, much qujtlati, in vncan in ovican yn aço tepetl itic, in anoço atlauhco.

auh yoan in cacaoaquavitl ipā quicueptia mizquitl. auh in ixq'ch in tlaçototol, in quetzaltotol, in xiuhtotol, in tlauhquechol muchiotin achtopa quijmioa, ixpan onotiaque, anaoacpa itztiaque.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ie ic vmpeoa njmā ie ic otlatoca,

njman jc acico cecnj quauhtitlan, cenca tomaoac in quavitl hicaca: yoan cenca viac, itech onmoquetz, njman ie ic quioallitlan in itencauh, njman ie ic onmotac, ōmoteccavi, qujto, ca ie nivevе, njmā ic vncan tlatocaioti vevequauhtitlan, njman ie ic qujmoomotla quitetepachoa in quavitl: auh injc quitetepacho tetl vel itech cacalac, moçacalo itech in vevequavitl, oc no çan iuh onezticaca iuh itztaloia, tlatzintlan peuhtica, iuh vmpanvetzticac in iquac.

auh in iquac otlatocaia Quetzalcoatl quitlapichilitivia.

oc ceppa mocevico cecni tepan onmotlali, moma-

1. See Chapter IV, supra; also Gudbg, op. cit., p. 286, or Cmn, op. cit., p. 18.

2. Anauac. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher und Co., 1904), Vol. II, pp. 49 sqq., argues that the name always referred to the "niederen Küstengebiete der Nord- und Südseeseite, der Länder der Golfküste und an der pazifischen Küste, und zwar insbesondere die Gebiete rechts und links von der mit hohen vulkanischen Bergen der Hochländer aus der grossen Hochkesselformation umrahmten Senkung. . . ."

Of the glosses, *tepan ontlapan*, a note in Seler's *Mexiko Kapitel* (p. 207, n. 1) suggests it might better read *tepan ontetlapan* "'auf der Wandfläche von,' d. h. der senkung auf der Lenne von Niemanden, 'wo man niemand sieht,' d. h. der freundgewordigen Niemanden in Anauac Niederung."

3. Cf. Gudbg, op. cit., p. 288.

-31-

539 himself [on it] with his hands. Thereupon he looked toward Tula, and then wept; as one sobbing he wept. Now he shed two hail stones as tears over his face; they rolled over his face. Thus fell [tear] drops [which] verily pierced holes in the stone.

matlaquechi, njman ie ic ontlachia in tullan, yoan njman ie ic choca, iuhqujn tzitzicunoachoca, ic on tecivitl pixavi yxaio ixtlan motetreca yn ixaio: injc chichipica vel qujcnopiloj in tetl.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 ●
103

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanoayan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanoayan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coaapan. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the casting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Injc matlactli vney capitulo: vncan mjtoa in machioti in qujlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan mocevi, in vncā motlalli.

Auh injc, monamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilac, juhquijnma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çā ic no ivi in itzintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel nenextica, injc cocoionquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmā ic oalcoac in acico itocaiocan tepanoayan, atl icac, atl quiztlcac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in tetl contecac panoanj conchiuh, njmā ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman aciio cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncāp j vncan quioalcuepaznquja in tlatlacatecuio, quioaliiochtizquja, qujiacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiiauh, can tiāztiuh, tleica ie ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Nīman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacatecuio, ca çan njmā amo velitiz ca ça niaz:

njmā quilhujque in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacatecuio canjn tiaz

njmā quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njiauh in njtlamatcaiuh,

auh njmā quihuiq̄ tle taiz

njman quito in Quetzalcoatl, ca nioalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ie qualli xicauhtiuh in ixquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in ixquich in tultecaiotl, in teocuitlapitzcaiotl, in tlatteocaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in tetzonxoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quitepeoaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch qujcujcuilique:

auh in ie inhquj in Quetzalcoatl njmā ie ic conte-

1. Tzompantepec, Tepanoayan of Olmos, op. cit., pp. 283, 289. Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 30) states that Tamoanchan was two leagues from Mexico City (Tlalmanalco).

-33-

539
103

were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Coxcaapan which now is called Coaapan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

pecoa, in jcoxqui in atlan njman ie ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, coxcaapan, in axcan njtoa coaapan:

auh njman ie ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocā cochtocan, auh in vncan njnam quicalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ie qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

quito in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpaloz,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloz ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in ujctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in o'lica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquizti, injc hicoxca, auh in oaliçac, njman ie ic avic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Torquemada (op. cit., pp. 466) repeats a legend that after having Coxcaapan, Quetzalcoatl went to Cholula, where he remained twenty years.

3. See Pl. 14.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

773
539
796
532

—After Pan. y Tronc.

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

[P. 36(C)]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

539
796
532
782

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a roadside shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX)

[P. 36 (D)]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952
NU7 Aztec NU7

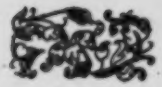
539
532
764

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

13. Roasting maize attracting the Toltecs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with masters of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

[F.36(E)]

S: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7



821

Second Chapter, which telleth of the moon.

The moon (Tecuciztecatl).

When he[4] newly appeared, he was like a small bow, like a bent, straw lip ornament—a small one. He did not yet shine. Very slowly, he went growing larger, becoming round and disc-shaped. In fifteen days he was completely rounded and filled out, as he became entire and mature. And when he waxed full and round, then he appeared, then he arose there at the place where the sun appeared. When it was already dark, [he was] like a very large, earthen skillet—very round, circular. [He was] as if red, a bright, deep red.

And after this, when he had already followed his course a little, when he had risen high, he became white. It was said: "Already he shineth; already the moon is brilliant; already he giveth forth moonbeams." He was then seen to be pale, very white. Then appeared [what was] like a little rabbit stretched across his face. If there were no clouds, if it were not overcast and covered by clouds, like [the sun] he shone, and it was like daytime. It was said: "[It is] almost [like] day; everywhere it is bright. Light is spread everywhere."

And when he had completely reached and attained his brilliance, for as many days as he had thus waxed and been round, little by little he again grew small; he became smaller. Again he became as when he had newly appeared. Gradually he waned and proceeded to vanish. It was said: "Already the moon is dying; now he slumbereth soundly—he falleth into a deep sleep. It is already toward morning, near dawn, when he ariseth." And when he had completely disappeared, it was said: "The moon hath died."

Inic vnse capítulo, itechpa tlatoa: in metztli.

Metztli: tecuciztecatl.

In iconc iancuican, oalmomana coltontli: iuhquin teçacanecuilli, teçacanecuiltontli, aiamo tlanestia: çan iuiian, ueistiuhi, malacachiuhtiuhi, teuilacachiuhtiuhi. Castoltica, in vel malacachiui: teuilacachiui, in vel maci, in chicaoa. Auh in iconc, vel oiaoaliuh, omalacachiuh, inic uel neci: inic oalmomana, in ompa iquiçaian tonatiuh: in iconc ie tlapoiaoa, iuhquin comalli, veipol: vel teuilacachtic, malacachtic: iuhquin tlapalli, chichiltic, chichilpatic.

Auh quinjconc, in ie achi quioaltoca, in ie, oalacoquiza, iztaia: mitoa ie tlachia, ie tlanestia, in metztli, ie metztona: iztalectic, vel iztac, inic motta: inic neci, iuhquin tochtō, isco vetztoc: intlacamo tle mistli, intlacamo mimoa, mistemi: iuhquin tona, ie tlaneci, mitoa ieh on cemilhuitl, uel tlanaltona: tlanaltonatimani.

Auh in jconc, ouelacic, ouelmacic, itlanestiliz: in izquilhuitl, ic veiia, malacachiui: çan iuh nenti, oc ceppa tepitonaui, tepitonauhtiuhi, oc ceppa iuhqui muchioa, inic iancuican oalmomana: çan iuiian poliui, poliuhtiuhi: mitoa ie onmiqui, in metztli: ie uei in quicochi: ie ue in ic cochi, ie tlathuitiuhi, ie tlathuinaoac, in oalquiza. Auh in iquac uel ompoliuh, mitoa: ommic in metztli.

BEHOLD THE FABLE in which it is told how a little rabbit lay across the face of the moon. Of this, it is told that [the gods] were only at play with [the

IEICATQUI, ITLATLATOLILO, inic mitoa: iuhquin tochton, isco uetztoc metztli. Jn hin, quilmach çā ic ica 539
onnesuiltiloc: ic conjsuiuitecque: ic conjstlatlaztoque,

4. In the Spanish version, the moon (*luna*) is feminine. Since both the sun (Ometeuctli) and moon (Tecuciztecatl) are male in the fable of the rabbit and the moon, we have made both of them consistently masculine.

-3-

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539

moon]. They struck his face with [the rabbit]; they wounded his face with it—they maimed it. The gods thus dimmed his face. Thereafter [the moon] came to arise and come forth.

It is told that when yet [all] was in darkness, when yet no sun had shone and no dawn had broken—it is said—the gods gathered themselves together and took counsel among themselves there at Teotihuacan. They spoke; they said among themselves:

"Come hither, O gods! Who will carry the burden? Who will take it upon himself to be the sun, to bring the dawn?"

And upon this, one of them who was there spoke: Tecuciztecatl presented himself. He said: "O gods, I shall be the one."

And again the gods spoke: "[And] who else?"

Thereupon they looked around at one another. They pondered the matter. They said to one another: "How may this be? How may we decide?"

None dared; no one else came forward. Everyone was afraid; they [all] drew back.

And not present was one man, Nanauatzin; he stood there listening among the others to that which was discussed. Then the gods called to this one. They said to him: "Thou shalt be the one, O Nanauatzin."

He then eagerly accepted the decision; he took it gladly. He said: "It is well, O gods; you have been good to me."

Then they began now to do penance. They fasted four days—both Tecuciztecatl [and Nanauatzin]. And then, also, at this time, the fire was laid. Now it burned, there in the hearth. They named the hearth *tezcacalli*.

And this Tecuciztecatl: that with which he did penance was all costly. His fir branches [were] quetzal feathers, and his grass balls [were] of gold; his maguey spines [were] of green stone; the reddened, bloodied spines [were] of coral. And his incense was very good incense. And [as for] Nanauatzin, his fir branches were made* only of green water rushes—green reeds bound in threes, all [making], together, nine bundles. And his grass balls [were] only dried pine needles. And his maguey spines were these same maguey spines. And the blood with which they were covered [was] his own blood. And [for] his incense, he used only the scabs from his sores, [which] he lifted up. For these two, for each one singly, a hill was made. There they remained, performing penance conjspopoloque: ic conjnamictique in teteuh: in iconac çatepan oquiçaco, onnomanaco.

Mitoa, in oc iooaian, in aiamo tona, in aiamo tlathui: quilmach, mocentlalique, mononotzque, in teteuh: in vmpa teutiuacan, quitoque: quimolhuique.

Tla xioalhuiiã, teteuie: aquin tlatquiz? aquin tlamamaz? in tonaz, in tlathuiz?

Auh niman, ie ic ichoatl vncan ontlatoa: onmisquetza in tecuciztecatl, quito. Teteuie, ca nehoatl niiez:

Oc ceppa quitoque in teteu: aquin oc ce?

Niman ie ic nepanotl, mohotta: quimottitia, quimolhuia, quen on yez, y? quen toniczque?

Ainc motlapaloaia, in oc ce onmisquetzaz: çan muchi tlacatl momauhtiaia, tzinquiçaia.

Auh amo onnezticatca: in ce tlacatl nanaoatzin, vncan tehoan tlacacticatca, in nenonotzalo: nimã ic ichoatl, connotzque in teteu: quilhuique. Tehoatl tiiez, nanaoatze.

Niman quicuitiuetz, in tlatolli: quipeccaceli. Quito, Ca ie qualli teteuie: oannechmocnelilique.

Niman ic conpenaltique, in ie tlamaceoaa, moçauhque nauilhuitl: omextin in tecuciztecatl. Auh niman no icoac, motlali in tletl: ie tlatla, in vncan tlecuilco: quitocaiotia in tlecuilli, teurescalli.

Auh in ichoatl, tecuciztecatl, in ipan tlamaceoaia: muchi tlaçotli, imacuoiauh quetzalli, auh in içacatapaiol teucuitlatl, in ivitz chalchiuitl: inic tlaezuilli, tlaezçoçolli, tapachtli: auh in icopal vel ich in copalli. Auh in nanaoatzin, in jacuoiauh, muchi çan aacatl xoxouhqui, acazoxouhqui, ey tlalpilli: tlacuitlalpilli, nepan chicunaui, in ie muchi: auh in içacatapaiol, çan iech in ocoçacatl: auh in iuitz, çan ie no ich in meuitztli: auh inic quezhuiaia, uel ich in ieaço: auh in icopal, çan ich in inanaoauh concocoleoaia. In imomestin y, cecenteti intepeuh muchinh: in vmpa, ontlamacuhcioenca: nauhcoual, mitoa in ocan, otepe tzacuilli, itzacual tenatiuh, yoan itzacual metztli.

* The corresponding passage in the *Matritenſe* was omitted here and inserted where the *Florentine Codex* has noted.

Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539

sacos for four nights. They are now called pyramids —the pyramid of the sun and the pyramid of the moon.

And when they ended their four nights of penitence, then they went to throw down and cast away, each one, their fir branches, and, indeed, all with which they had been performing penances. This was done at the time of the lifting [of the penance]; when, well into the night, they were to do their labor; they were to become gods.

And when midnight had come, thereupon [the gods] gave them their adornment; they arrayed them and readied them. To Tecuciztecatl they gave his round, forked heron feather headdress and his sleeveless jacket. But [as for] Nanauatzin, they bound on his headdress of mere paper and tied on his hair, called his paper hair. And [they gave him] his paper stole and his paper breech clout.

And when this was done, when midnight had come, all the gods proceeded to encircle the hearth, which was called *teotexcalli*, where for four days had burned the fire. On both sides [the gods] arranged themselves in line, and in the middle they set up, standing, these two, named Tecuciztecatl and Nanauatzin. They stood facing and looking toward the hearth.

And thereupon the gods spoke: They said to Tecuciztecatl: "Take courage, O Tecuciztecatl; fall —cast thyself—into the fire!"

Upon this, he went [forward] to cast himself into the flames. And when the heat came to reach him, it was insufferable, intolerable, and unbearable; for the hearth had blazed up exceedingly, a great heap of coals burned, and the flames flared up high. Thus he came terrified, stopped in fear, turned about, and went back. Then once more he set out, in order to try to do it. He exerted himself to the full, that he might cast and give himself to the flames. And he could in no way dare to do it. When again the heat reached him, he could only turn and leap back. He could not bear it. Four times indeed—four times in all—he was thus to act and try; then he could cast himself no more. For then [he might try] only four times.

And when he had ended [trying] four times, thereupon they cried out to Nanauatzin. The gods said to him: "Onward, then, O Nanauatzin! Take heart!"

And Nanauatzin, daring all at once, determined

Auh in ontzonquiz, nauhiocal intlamacoxalix: niman quitlatlaçato, quimamaisuito, in imacxoiauh: yoan in ie mochi, ipan otlamacuhque. Inin muchiuh, ie innecoalco, in iconc in ie ouiloca tlacotizque, teutizque.

Auh in iconc, ie onaci iocalnepantla: niman ie ic quintlamamaca, quinchichioa, quincencuoa: in tecuciztecatl, quimacaque, izztacon mimiltic, ioan ixicol. Auh in nanauatzin, çan amatl, inic c:nquailpique: contzonilpique, itoca iamatzon: yoan iamancapanal, yoan iamamatli.

Auh in ie iuhqui, in ouelacic iocalnepantla, in muchintin teteu quiiacoalcimomanque in tlecuilli, in motencoa teutecalli, in vncan nauilhuitl otlatlac tletl, nenecoc motecpanque: auh nepantla quimômanque quimonquetzque in omextin, y, motencoa in tecuciztecatl yoan nanauatzin, quinamictimomanque, quinamictimoquetzque in tlecuilli.

Auh niman ie ic tlatoa in teteu, quilhuique in tecuciztecatl. O tlacuelle tecuciztecatle, xonhuetzi, xonmomaiaui in tleco:

niman ie ic iauh momaiauiz in tleco. Auh in itech oacito totonilloc in amo ianamiquiztli, in amo iecoliztli, amo ihiouilizdi: inic cênca uel ozomotlac tlecuilli, ouel ouhoalantimotlali, ouel motlatlali in tletl: ic çan ommiamauhtito, ommotilquetzato, oalitzinquiz, oaltziniloc: ie no ceppa iauh tlaichecoz, iquich ca ana, ic momotla, quimomaca in tletl: auh ça auel motlapalo, in ie no itech onaci tetonqui, çan oaltzinquiça oaltzincholoa, amo ontlaiecoa: uel nappa, tlaelnappa in iuh quichiuh in moiehcra, çã niman auel ommomaiauh in tleco: ca çan ie vncan tlatenecalli in nappa.

Auh in ontlaquisti nappa: niman ie ic ieh contzatilia in nanauatzin, quilhuique in teteu. Oc tehuatl, oc cuel tehuatl nanauatze, ma ie cuel.

Auh in nanauatzin, çan cen in oalmotlapalo, qui-

-5-

539

—resolved—hardened his heart, and shut firmly his eyes. He had no fear; he did not stop short; he did not falter in fright; he did not turn back. All at once he quickly threw and cast himself into the fire; once and for all he went. Thereupon he burned; his body crackled and sizzled.

And when Tecuciztecatl saw that already he burned, then, afterwards, he cast himself upon [the fire]. Thereupon he also burned.

And thus do they say: It is told that then flew up an eagle, [which] followed them. It threw itself suddenly into the flames; it cast itself into them, [while] still it blazed up. Therefore its feathers are scorched looking and blackened. And afterwards followed an ocelot, when now the fire no longer burned high, and he came to fall in. Thus he was only blackened —smutted—in various places, and singed by the fire. [For] it was not now burning hot. Therefore he was only spotted, dotted with black spots, [as if] splashed with black.

From this [event], it is said, they took—from here was taken—the custom whereby was called and named one who was valiant, a warrior. He was given the name *quauhtlocelotl*. [The word] *quauhtli* came *first*, it is told, because, [as] was said, [the eagle] first entered the fire. And the ocelot followed thereafter. Thus is it said in one word—*quauhtlocelotl;* because [the latter] fell into the fire after [the eagle].

And after this, when both had cast themselves into the flames, when they had already burned, then the gods sat waiting [to see] where Nanauatzin would come to rise—he who first fell into the fire—in order that he might shine [as the sun]; in order that dawn might break.

When the gods had sat and been waiting for a long time, thereupon began the reddening [of the dawn]; in all directions, all around, the dawn and light extended. And so, they say, thereupon the gods fell upon their knees in order to await where he who had become the sun would come to rise. In all directions they looked; everywhere they peered and kept turning about. As to no place were they agreed in their opinions and thoughts. Uncertain were those whom they asked. Some thought that it would be from the north that [the sun] would come to rise, and placed themselves to look there; some [did so] to the west; some placed themselves to look south. They expected [that he might rise] in all directions, because the light was everywhere.

oalcentlami, quioallancoa in iiollo, oalistetenmotzolo: amo tle ic mismauhti, amo moquehquetz, amo motilquetz, amo tzinquiz: çan niman ommotlaztiuetz, ômomaiauhtiuetz in tleco, çan ic cen ia: niman ie ic tlatla, cuecuepoca, tzotzoioca in inacaio.

Auh in icoac, oquittac tecuciztecatl, in ie tlatla: quinicoac, çatepan ipan onmomaiauh: niman ie no ic tlatla.

Auh in iuh conitoa, quilmach niman no ic onecoac, in quauhtli, quimontoquili: onmotlaztiuetz in tleco, ommotlecomaiauh, oc ichoatl no vellalac: ipampa in iuiio cuicheoac, cuichectic. Auh ça ontlatzacui in ocelotl, aocmo cenca uellala in tletl, uetzito: ic ça motlecuiculo, motletlecuicuilo, motlechichino, aocmo cenca uellalac: ipampan çan cuicuiltic, motlilchachapani, motlilchachazpatz.

In hin, quilmach vncan man, vncan mocuic in tlatolli: inic itolo, teneoalo, in aquin tiacauh, oquichtli: quauhtlocelotl tocaiotilo: ieh iacattiuh in quauhtli, mitoa, quil ipampa in onteiacan tleco: auh ça ontlatzacuia in ocelotl, inic mocencamaitoa quauhtlocelotl: ipampa i çatepã ouetz tleco.

Auh in ie iuhqui, in omeatin ômomamaiauhque tleco, in icoac ie otlatlaque: niman ic quichistimotecaque in teteu, in campa ic quiçaquiuh nanaoatzin, in achto onuetz tleco: inic tonaz, inic tlathuiz.

In icoac ie uecauhtica onoque, mochiscaonoque teteu: nimã ie ic peoa, in tlachichiliui, nouiiampa tlaiaoalo in tlauizcalli, in tlatlauiltotl: in iuh conitoa, niman ie ic motlanquaquetzque in teteu, inic quichiezque, in campa ie quiçaquiuh tonatiuh. Omuchiuh, nouiiampa tlachisque, auicpa tlachie, momalacachotinemi: acan vel centetis in intlatol, in innemachiliz, atle iueli aca in quitoque. Cequintin momatque, ca mictlampa in quiçaquiuh, ic vmpa itztimomanque: cequintin cioatlampa: cequintin vitztlampa itztimomanque, nouiiampa motemachique: ipampa in çan tlaiaoalo tlatlauiltotl.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

And some placed themselves so that they could watch there to the east. They said: "For there, in that place, the sun already will come to arise." True indeed were the words of those who looked there and pointed with their fingers in that direction. Thus they say, [that] those who looked there [to the east were] Quetzalcoatl; the name of the second was Ecatl; and Totec, or Anauatl itecu; and the red Tezcatlipoca.[6] Also [there were] those who were called the Mimixcoa, who were without number; and four women—Tiacapan, Teicu, Tlacoyehua, and Xocoyotl.

And when the sun came to rise, when he burst forth, he appeared to be red; he kept swaying from side to side. It was impossible to look into his face; he blinded one with his light. Intensely did he shine. He issued rays of light from himself; his rays reached in all directions; his brilliant rays penetrated everywhere.

And afterwards Tecuciztecatl came to rise, following behind him from the same place—the east,—near where the sun had come bursting forth. In the same manner that they had fallen into the fire, just so they came forth. They came following each other.

And so they tell it; [so] they relate the story and repeat the legend: Exactly equal had they become in their appearance, as they shone. When the gods saw them, [thus] exactly the same in their aspect, then once more there was deliberation. They said: "How may this be, O gods? Will they perchance both together follow the same path? Will they both shine together?"

And the gods all issued a judgment. They said: "Thus will this be; thus will this be done."

Then one of the gods came out running. With a rabbit he came to wound in the face this Tecuciztecatl; with it he darkened his face; he killed its brilliance. Thus doth it appear today.

And when this was done, when both appeared [over the earth] together, they could, on the other hand, not move nor follow their paths. They could only remain still and motionless. So once again the gods spoke: "How shall we live? The sun cannot move. Shall we perchance live among common folk? [Let] this be, that through us the sun may be revived. Let all of us die."

Auh in cequintin, vel vmpa itztimomâque in tlauhcopa: quitoque. Ca ie vmpa hin, ie vncan hin in quiçaquiuh tonatiuh: ichoantin uel neltic in intlatol, in vmpa tlachiaque, in vmpa mapiloque. Iuh quitoa, ichoantin in vmpa tlachiaque, quetzalcoatl: ic ontetl itoca hecatl, yoan in totec, anoço anoço anaoatl itecu, yoan tlatlauic tezcatlipoca: no ichoantin in motenco mimiscoa, in amo çâ tlapoaltin: yoan cioa nauin, tiacapan, teicu, tlacoiehoa, xocoiotl.

Auh in jcoac, oquiçaco, in omomanaco tonatiuh: iuhquin tlapalli monenecuilotimanj, amo vel ianamico, teismimicti: cenca tlanestia, motonameiotia, in itonameio nouiiampa xacitimoquetz, auh in itonalmiio nouiiampa cacalac.

Auh çatepan, quiçaco in tecuciztecatl, quioaltocatia: çan ie no vmpa in tlauhcopa, itloc onmomanaco in tonatiuh: in iuh onuetzque tleco, çan no iuh oalquizque, oalmotocatiaque.

Auh in iuh conitoa, tlatlanonotza, teçaçanilhuia: çan neneuhqui in intlachieliz muchiuh, inic tlanestiaia. In icoac oquimittaque teteu, in çan neneuhqui intlachieliz: nimâ ic no ceppa ic nenonotzalo: quitoque. Quen iexque, y, teteuie? cuis onteistin otlatocazque, onteistin iuh tlanestizque?

Auh in teteu, muchintin oallatzõtecque: quitoque. Iuh iex, y, iuh, muchioaz y.

Niman ic ce tlacatl, ommotlalotiquiz in teteu: ic conisuiuitequito in tochin, in ichoatl tecuciztecatl, ic conispopoloque, ic conisomictique: in iuhqui ascan ic tlachie.

Auh in ie iuhqui: in icoac ie omomanaco onteistin, ie no cuele auel olini, otlatoca, çan momânque, motetêmanque. Ic ie no ceppa quitoque in teteu. Quen tinemjzque, amo olinj in tonatiuh: cuis tiquinnelotinemjzque in maçeoalti? Auh inin, ma toca mocalti, ma timochintin timiquican.

---

6. This passage reproduces what the Aztec appears to mean. The data do not all conform with those set forth in standard sources. It might be noted, however, that with passage of time the attributes, personalities, and manifestations of the gods underwent considerable changes. Cf. John Eric Thompson: *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933); Angel María Garibay K: *Llave del nahuatl* (Orumbo: [Imprenta Mayfe, S. A.], 1940), pp. 197-207; Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936).

539 Then it became the office of Ecatl to slay the gods. But they say thus: that Xolotl wished not to die. He said to the gods: "Let me not die, O gods." Wherefore he wept much; his eyes and his eyelids swelled.

And when he who dealt death was to overtake him, he fled from his presence; he ran; he quickly entered a field of green maize, and took the form of, and quickly turned into, two young maize stalks [growing] from a single root, which the workers in the field have named *xolotl*. But there, in the field of green maize, he was seen. Then once again he fled from him; once more he quickly entered a maguey field. There also he quickly changed himself into a maguey plant [consisting of] two [parts] called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and once more he quickly entered into the water and went to take the shape of [an amphibious animal called] *axolotl*. There they could go to seize him, that they might slay him.

[136]

And they say that though all the gods died, even then the sun god could not move and follow his path. Thus it became the charge of Ecatl, the wind, who arose and exerted himself fiercely and violently as he blew. At once he could move him, who thereupon went on his way. And when he had already followed his course, only the moon remained there. At the time when the sun came to enter the place where he set, then once more the moon moved. So, there, they passed each other and went each one his own way. Thus the sun cometh forth once, and spendeth the whole day [in his work]; and the moon undertaketh the night's task; he worketh all night; he doth his labor at night.

From this it appeareth, it is said, that the moon, Tecuciztecatl, would have been the sun if he had been first to cast himself into the fire; because he had presented himself first and all [his offerings] had been costly in the penances.

Here endeth this legend and fable, which was told in times past, and was in the keeping of the old people.

Nimā ic ieh itequiuh ōmochiuh, in hecatl, ie quinmjctia in teteu: auh in iuh conitoa, in xolotl, amo momiquitlania: quimilhui in teteu. Macamo nimiqui teteuic. Ic cēca chocaia, vel ispopoçaoac, isquatolpopoçaoac.

Auh in ie itech onaci miquiztli, çan teispāpa coac, cholo, toctitlan calactiuetz: ipan onmixuch, ic mocueptiuetz, in toctli ome manj, maxaltic: in quitocaiotia millaca, xolotl. Auh vncan ittoc in toctitlan: ie no ceppa teispampa coac, ie no cuele metitlan calactiuetz: no ic ōmocueptiuetz in metl, ome manj, in itocā mexolotl. Ie no ceppa ittoc, ie no cuele atlan calactiuetz, axolotl mocuepato: ie vel vmpa canato, inic conmictique.

Auh quitoa, in manel muchintin teteu omicque, ça nel amo ic olin, amo vel ic otlatocac in teutl tonatiuh: ic itequiuh ommuchiuh in hecatl, moquetz in ehecatl, cenca molhui, totocac, in ehecac: quin iehoatl vel colinj, nimah ie ic otlatoca. Auh in icoac, ie otlatoca, çan vmpa ommocauh in metztli: quinicoac in ocalaquito icalaquian tonatiuh, ie no cuele ic oalcoac in metztli: ic vncan mopatilique, motlallotique. Inic ceppa oalquiça tlacemilhuitiltia in tonatiuh: auh in metztli iooaltequitl quitlaça cēiooal quitlaça, iooaltequiti.

Ic vncā hin neci, mitoa: ca iehoatl tonatiuh ieztquia in metztli tecuciztecatl, intla ic achto onuetzinj tleco: ipampa ca iehoatl achto mixquetz, inic nuchi tlaçotli ipan tlamaceuh.

Nican tlami, in hin nenonotzalli, çaçanilli: in ie uecauh ic tlatlanonotzaia, veuetque, in impiel catca.

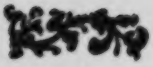
Eclipse of the Moon.

821 843 When the moon eclipsed, his face grew dark and sooty; blackness and darkness spread. When this came to pass, women with child feared evil; they thought it portentous; they were terrified [lest], perchance, their [unborn] children might be changed

Metztli qualo.

In icoac, qualo metztli: ixtilloa, ixcuichoua, cuichecuitimomana, tlaiocuitimomana. In icoac, y, muchioa: uel motēmatia in oozmio, tlaucimatia, momauhtiaia: ma nelli mequimichcuepti, ma quiquimichtimocuepti, in impilhoan.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7



539 This is the tale of the rabbit which is in the moon. They say that the gods played tricks on the moon and struck him in the face with a rabbit; and the rabbit remained marked upon his face. And with it they darkened his face as if with a weal. Thereafter he came forth to light the world. They said that, before there was day in the world, the gods came together in that place which is named Teotihuacan (which is the town of San Juan, between Chiconauhtlan and Otumba). They said to one another: "O gods, who will have the burden of lighting the world?" Then to these words answered a god named Tecuciztecatl, and he said: "I shall take the burden of lighting the world." Then once more the gods spoke, and they said: "Who will be another?" Then they looked at one another, and deliberated on who the other would be. And none of them dared offer himself for that office; all were afraid and declined. One of the gods, to whom no one was paying attention, and who was covered with pustules, did not speak but listened to what the other gods were saying. And the others spoke to him and said to him:

La fabula del concio que esta en la luna: es esta. Dizen, que los dioses se burlaron con la luna y dieronla con vn concio en la cara, y quedole el concio señalado en la cara: y con esto le escurecieron la cara como con vn cardenal. Despues desso salio pa alumbrar al mundo. Dezian, que antes que ouiese dia en el mundo que iuntaron los dioses en aquel lugar que se llama teutioacā, (que es el pueblo de San Juan entre chicunauhtlan y otumba) dixeron los vnos a los otros. Dioses, quien tendra cargo de alumbrar al mundo? luego a estas palabras respondio vn dios que se llamaua Tecuciztecatl y dixo. Yo tomo a cargo de alumbrar al mundo. Luego otra vez hablaron los dioses y dixeron quien sera otro? Luego se mirarō los vnos a los otros, y conferian quien seria el otro. Y ninguno dellos osaua ofrecerse a aquel ofi.° todos temian y se escusavan. Vno dellos dioses de q̄ no se hazia cuēta y era buboso, no hablaua sino oya lo que los otros dioses dezian. Y los otros hablaronle y dixerōle: Se tu el que alumbres bubosito. Y el de buena voluntad obedecio a lo que le mandaron y respondio, en mrd reçibo lo que me aveis mandado

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 "You be the one who is to give light, little pustule-covered one." And right willingly he obeyed what they commanded, and he answered: "Thankfully I accept what you have commanded me [to do]. Let it be [as you say]." And then both began to perform penances for four days.

se assi. Y luego los dos començaron a hazer penitencia quatro dias.

And then they lit a fire in the hearth which was made on a crag (which now they call *teotexcalli*). [As for] the god named Tecuciztecatl, all which he offered was costly. Instead of branches he offered precious feathers named *quetzalli*. And instead of balls of straw he offered balls of gold. And instead of maguey spines he offered spines made of precious stones. And instead of bloodied spines, he offered spines made of red coral. And the copal incense which he offered was very good. And the pustule-covered one, who was named Nanauatzin, in place of branches offered green rushes tied in threes—in all amounting to nine. And he offered balls of straw and maguey spines, and he bloodied them with his own blood. And instead of copal incense he offered the scabs from his pustules. For each of these was raised a tower like a mountain. On these same mountains they did penance four nights. (Today these moun-

Y luego encendieron fuego ẽ el hogar el qual era hecho ẽ vna peña (que agora llaman teutexcalli). El dios llamado Tecuciztecatl todo lo que ofrecia era precioso: en lugar de ramos ofrecia plumas ricas que se llamã quetzalli. Y en lugar de pelotas de heno, ofrecia pelotas de oro: y en lugar de espinas de maguei ofrecia espinas hechas de piedras preciosas: y en lugar de espinas ẽsangrentadas, ofrecia espinas hechas de coral colorado: y el copal que ofrecia era muy bueno. Y el buboso que se llamaua Nanauatzin en lugar de ramos ofrecia cañas verd's atadas de tres en tres, todas ellas llegauan a nueue: y ofrecia bolas de heno y espinas de maguei, y ensangrentauala con su misma sangre: y ẽ lugar de copal ofrecia las postillas de las bobas. A cada vno destos se les edifico vna torre como mõte, en los mismos montes hizierõ penitencia quatro noches agora se llamã estos mõtes tzacualli. estan ambos cabe el pu.° de s. Ju.° que se llama tep-

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539

tains are called *tzacualli*; they are both near the town of San Juan, which is called Tzonihuacan.) After they ended their four nights of penance, then they threw away the branches and all else with which they had performed penances.

This was done at the end, or at the conclusion, of the penitence, when, the next night—at midnight—they were to begin to perform their offices. And a little before midnight [the other gods] gave them their adornment. To the one named Tecuciztecatl they gave a feather [headdress] called *axtaconitl* and a linen jacket. And [as for] the pustule-covered one named Nanauatzin, they covered his head with [a] paper [headdress] called *amatzontli*, and put upon him a stole of paper and a paper breech clout. And midnight having come, all the gods placed themselves about the hearth, called *tezcacalli*. In this place the fire blazed four days. The aforementioned gods arranged themselves in two rows, some at one side of the fire, some at the other side. And then the two [gods] above mentioned placed themselves before the fire, facing the fire, between the two rows of gods, all of whom were standing. And then the gods

tiuacā. Desque se acabaron las quatro noches de su poja, luego echarō por ay los ramos

y todo lo de mas con que hizieron la poja. Esto se hizo al fin, o al remate de su poja, quando la noche siguiēte a la media noche avian de comēçar a hazer sus oficios. Y ante vn poco de la media noche dieronles sus adereços. A aquel que se llamava tecuciztecatl dierō vn plumaje llamado axtaconitl y vna xaqueta de lienço: y al buboso que se llama nanavatzin tocaronle la cabeça cō papel q̄ se llama amatzontli, y pusierōle vna stola de papel y vn maxtli de papel. Y llegada la media noche todos los dioses se pusieron en deredor del hogar que se llama teutezcalli en este lugar ardio el fuego quatro dias: ordenaronse los dhos dioses en dos rencles, vnos de la vna pte del fuego, otros de la otra pte. Y luego los dos sobredhos se pusieron delante del fuego, las caras hazia el fuego en medio de las dos rencles de los dioses: los quales todos estauā leuātados. Y luego hablaron los dioses y dixeron a tecuciztecatl. En pues

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Astec NU7

339

spoke, and said to Tecucistecatl: "How now, Tecucistecatl! Go into the fire!" And then he braced himself to cast himself into the fire.

And since the fire was large and blazed high, as he felt the great heat of the fire, he became frightened and dared not cast himself into the fire. He turned back. Once more he turned to throw himself into the fire, making an effort and drawing nearer, to cast himself into the flames. But, feeling the great heat, he held back and dared not cast himself [into it]. Four times he tried, but never let himself go. A rule [had been] made not to try more than four times. Since he had tried four times, the gods then spoke to Nanauatzin, and said to him: "How now, Nanauatzin! You try!" And when the gods had addressed him, he exerted himself, and with closed eyes undertook [the ordeal] and cast himself into the flames. And then he began to crackle and pop in the fire like one who is roasted.

tecucistecatl entra tu en el fuego. Y el luego acometio pa echarse en el fuego.

Y como el fuego era grande y estaua muy encendido, como sintio el gran calor del fuego, ouo miedo no oso echarse en el fuego, boluiose atras: otra vez torno para echarse en el fuego haziendose fuerça, y llegandose mas acerca para echarse en el fuego: pero sintiendo el calor grande detuuose, no oso echarse. Quatro vezes prouo, pero nunca se dejo echar: estaua puesto mãdamj.° que no prouarse mas de quatro vezes. Desque ouo prouado quatro vezes los dioses luego hablaron a nanauatzin y dixeronle. Ea pues nanauatzin pruena tu. Y comon le quieron hablado los dioses, esforçose y cerrado los ojos arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y luego començo a rechinar y respendar en el fuego como quien se asa. Y como vio tecucistecatl

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 And when Tecuciztecatl saw that [Nanauatzin] had cast himself into the flames, and was burning, he gathered himself [for the ordeal] and threw himself into the fire. And it is said that an eagle entered the blaze and also burned itself; and for that reason it has dark brown or blackened feathers. Finally a tiger [ocelot] entered; it did not burn itself, but [only] singed itself; and for that reason remained stained black and white. From here was taken the custom of calling men dexterous in war *quauhtlocelotl*. And they said *quauhtli* first, because the eagle first entered the flames. And last *ocelotl* is said, because the tiger [ocelot] entered the fire after the eagle. After both [the gods] had thrown themselves into the fire, and after they had burned, then the gods seated themselves to wait [to see] from what direction Nanaua[tzin] would come to rise.

que se avia echado en el fuego y ardia, arremetio y echose en el fuego. Y dizque luego vna aguila entro en el fuego y tambien se quemo: y por eso tiene las plumas hoscas o negrestinas. A la postre entro vn tigre no se quemo sino chamascose: y por eso q̃do manchado de negro y blanco. Deste lugar se tomo la costumbre de llamar a los hombres diestros en la guerra quauhtlocelotl. Y dizen primero quauhtli porque el aguila p'mero entro en el fuego. Y dizese a la postre ocelotl porque el tigre entro en el fuego a la postre del aguila. Despues que ambos se ouieron arrojado en el fuego, y despues que se ouierõ quemado: luego los dioses se sentaron a esperar a que pte vendria salir el nanaoa. Despues que estuuiero grã rato esperando,

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 After they had waited a long time, the heavens began to redden, and in every quarter the dawn appeared. And they say that after this the gods knelt down to wait [to see] where Nanauatzin], become sun, would rise. In every direction they looked, turning about. They never succeeded in guessing or saying from what quarter he would rise. They agreed in nothing. Some thought that he would come up in the north, and stood up to look there. Others stood to look toward the west; others to the south. They conjectured that he was to come forth in all directions, because at all the cardinal points there was the brilliance of the dawn. Others placed themselves so as to look to the east. They said: "Here, from this direction, the sun must rise." The declaration of these was true. They say that those who looked to the east were Quetzalcoatl; a second named Ehecatl; and another named Totec, or, by another name Anauatl itecu, and by [still] another name, Tlatlauic Tezcatlipoca; and others called Mimixcoa, who are without number; and four women, one named Tlacapan, another Teicu, a third Tlacoyema, and a fourth Xocoyotl.

Començose a parar colorado el cielo: y en toda pte aparecio la luz d'l alua. Y dizen que despues desto, los dioses se hincaron de rodillas pa esperar adonde saldria nanava hecho sol, a todas ptes mirauan boluiendose en rededor, nun acertaron a pensar ni a dezir a que pte saldria, en ninguna cosa se determinaron. Algunos pensaron que saldria de la pte del norte y paronse a mirar hazia alla: otros se pararon a mirar hazia el poniente: otros hazia el medio dia: a todas ptes sospecharon que avia de salir, porque a todas ptes avia resplandor del alua: otros se pusieron a mirar hazia el oriente dixeron aqui desta pte a de salir el sol: el dho destos fue verdadero. dizen que los que miraron hazia el oriente fueron Quetzalcoatl el 2.° que llama hecatl y otro que se llama totec y por otro nõbre anavatl ytecu y por otro nombre tlatlauic tezcatlipuca: y otros que se llamã mimixcoa que son inumerables: y quatro mugeres, la vna se llama tiacapã, la otra teycu, la tercera tlalcoyema, la quarta xocoyotl.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 And when the sun came to rise, he looked very red. He appeared to waddle from one side to the other. None could look at him, because he snatched sight from the eyes. He shone and cast rays [of light] from himself in grand style. His light and his rays he poured forth in all directions. And thereafter the moon rose, in the same quarter, the east, like the sun. First the sun came forth, and after him came out the moon; in the order that they entered the fire, in [that] same [order] they came out made sun and moon. And those who tell stories or tales say that they had equal light with which they illuminated [the world]. And when the gods saw that they shed equal brilliance, they again spoke among themselves, and said: "O gods, how shall this be? Will it be well that both go alike? Will it be well that they illuminate equally?" And the gods gave a command, and said: "Let it be thus; let it be thus done." And then one of them went running and with a rabbit struck Tezcatzitecatl in the face. He darkened his face and deadened [its] brilliance, and his face remained as it is today.

Y quando vino á salir el sol, parecio muy colorado, parecia que se cõtoneava de vna pte a otra, nadie lo podia mirar porque quitaua la vista de los ojos, resplandecia y echava rayos de si en grã manera su luz y sus rayos se derramo por todas ptes. Y despues salio la lũa en la misma pte del oriente a par del sol: Primero salio el sol y tras el salio la luna, por la orden que entraron en el fuego por la mesma salierõ hechos sol y luna. Y dizen los q̃ cuẽtan fabulas o hablillas que tenian ygual luz con que alumbrauan y desque vieron los dioses que ygualmente resplandecian, hablaronse otra vez y dixeron. O dioses como sera esto? sera bien que vayan ambos a la par? sera bien que ygualmente alumbren? Y los dioses dieron señia y dixeron. Sea desta manera, hagase desta manera. Y luego vno dellos fue corriendo y dio con vn conejo en la cara a tecucistecatl escureciole la cara y amatole el resplandor y quedo como agora esta su cara. Despues que ouieron salido ambos sobre la tĩra,

After both had come forth over the earth, the sun and moon remained still, without moving from one

estuuieron quedos sin mudarse de vn lugar sol y la luna. Y los dioses otra vez se hablaron y dixeron.

5: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539

place. And the gods once more spoke, and said: "How may we live? The sun does not move himself! Are we to live among the peasants? Let us all die and make him revive through our death!" And then the Wind took charge of killing all the gods, and he slew them. And it is told that one, named Xolotl, *refused* to die, and said to the gods: "O gods, let me not die." And he wept exceedingly, so that his eyes swelled with weeping. And when the slayer came to him, he hid in the maize fields, and he changed and turned himself into the foot of a maize plant which has two stalks, and the field workers call it *xolotl*. And he was seen and found among the feet of the maize stalks. Again he took flight and hid among the maguey plants, and changed himself into a maguey plant which has two bodies, which is called *mexolotl*. Once more he was seen, and he took flight and placed himself in the water and made himself into a fish which is called *axolotl*. From there they took him and slew him. And they say that although the gods were slain, not on that account did the sun move. And then the Wind began to blow and raise a strong gale. He made him move, so that he might go on his way. And after the sun began to travel, the moon was quiet in the place where he was.

[824]

Como podemos biuir no se menea el sol, emos d' biuir entre los villanos? muramos todos y hagamosle q̃ resucite por nra muerte. Y luego ayre se encargo de matar a todos los dioses, y matolos. Y dizese que vno llamado Xolotl rehusava la muerte, y dixo a los dioses. O dioses no muera yo y llorava gran manera de manera que se le hincharon los ojos de llorar. Y quando llego a el el q̃ matava hecho a huyr, escondiose entre los mayzales, y boluiose y con[ver]tiose en pie de mayz q̃ tiene dos cañas y los labradores le llaman xolotl. Y fue visto y hallado entre los pies del mayz, otra vez hecho a huyr y se escondio entre los magueys y convertiose en maguey que tiene dos cuerpos, q̃ se llama mexolotl: otra vez fue visto y hecho a huyr y metiose en el agua y hizose pez q̃ se llama axolotl de alla le tomaron y le mataron. Y dizen que avnque fueron muertos los dioses no por esso se movio el sol y luego el viento comenco a soplar o ventear rezialmente: el le hizo moverse pa que anduuiese su camino. Y despues q̃ el sol comenco a caminar, la lũa se estuuo quieda en el lugar donde estava.

9: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1953 NU7 Aztec NU7

539

After the sun had set, the moon began to move. Thus the one got away from the other. And thus they came forth at different times. The sun endureth one day, and the moon worketh at night (or illuminateth at night). From this cometh what is said: that Tecuciztecatl would have been the sun if he had cast himself first into the fire, because he was named first, and offered precious things in his penance.

Despues que el sol se puso començó la luna a andar: desta manera se dexaron el vno del otro: y assi salen á diuersos tiempos. El sol dura vn dia y la luna trabaja en la noche o alumbra en la noche. De aqui parece lo que se dize q̃ el tecuciztecatl avia de ser sol si p'mero se oviera echado en el fuego porque el p'mero fue sñalado y ofrecio cosas preciosas en su pñia.

Eclipse of the Moon.

821

When the moon is eclipsed, he becometh almost dark; he becometh blackened; he turneth a dark brown. Then the earth darkeneth. When this cometh to pass, women with child feared miscarriage. A great dread seized them that that which they had in their bodies would become mice. And as a remedy for this they took a piece of obsidian in the mouth or they placed it in the girdle over the belly and [did so] in order that the children [whom they carried] in the womb would not be born lipless or noseless or very-mouthed, or cross-eyed, or that [one] might not be born monstrous.

[843 751]

Quando la luna se eclipsa parese casi escura, ennegrecese, parese boraca: luego se escurese la tierra. Quando esto acontesçe las preñadas temian de abortar, tomavales gran temor que lo q̃ tenian en el cuerpo se a de boluer ratos. Y para remedio desto tomavan vn pedaço de yztli é la boca o poniasle en la çintura sobre el vientre y para que los ninos que en el vientre no saliesen sin bepa o sin narizes, o boquituertos, o biagos: o porq̃ no naciese monstro.

The people of Xaltocan held the moon as a god and made him special offerings and sacrifices.

Los de xaltoca tenian por dios a la luna y le hazia particulares ofrendas y sacrificios.